

POL 351/ SPI 311
The Politics of Development
Spring 2023

Atul Kohli
Office hours: Wed. 2:00-4:00 pm
(On Zoom via Calendly; and by appointment)
Teaching Assistant: Gregory Amusu

Lectures: Tu. Th. 11:00-11:50
Room: TBA

Course Description: This course will focus on **the state's role in promoting economic growth and distribution in the developing world**. The core organizing question for the course is: why have some regions of the developing world been more successful at industrialization and/or poverty alleviation than other regions. The students will learn about the typical patterns of development in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The countries that will receive special attention will include China, India, South Korea, Nigeria and Brazil. While learning about specific cases, we will also address the following general issues: the role of states and markets in development; the importance of democratic versus authoritarian regimes as agents of growth and distribution; and the significance of a country's global setting for its developmental trajectory. The course will compare a variety of models of development by combining historical, political and economic analysis.

In addition to course lectures, students will be expected to read regularly and to participate in precepts. I have tried to keep the average weekly readings to 200 pages (some weeks more but other weeks less). Since no readings are assigned for the first or the last week, **the average weekly reading for the course is about 170 pages**. The grade for the course will be determined by two brief take-home exams (20% each) and one longer take-home final exam (40%). The quality of participation in the precepts will also be graded (20%).

Other important matters to note:

- **Regular attendance is mandatory.** Attendance will be recorded. If you have to miss a class or a precept for medical reasons, please provide a note from health services. If you miss more than two classes (or precepts) without a medical reason, you will lose half a grade.
- **Extensions on assignments will only be given for medical reasons**, with a note from health services. Late submission of assignments will be penalized.

- **Honor Code:** You will complete all your assignments while respecting the university's honor code; please note that the **use of AI resources** -- such as ChatGPT -- to complete your assignments **is prohibited**.
- **Use of cell phones in the class is prohibited.** Please turn them off during lectures and precepts.
- **Covid precautions:** All students will wear face masks during lectures. Please feel free to take your mask off when asking a question. The guidelines for mask use during precepts will be set by the preceptor.

The **reading material for the course** will be available both as books ordered at the University bookstore and as e-readings (only the required readings). The following books ought to be available at the bookstore or from amazon.com:

Joe Studwell, *How Asia Works: Success and Failure in the World's Most Dynamic Region*, Grove Press, 2013

Atul Kohli, *Poverty amid Plenty in the New India*, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Peter Kingstone, *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development*, Routledge, 2018

Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox*, W.W. Norton, 2011.

Note: If you would like a quick background on any of the major countries discussed in this course, you can consult Mark Kesselman et al *Introduction to the Politics of the Developing World* (the most recent edition.) I have not ordered this book but it should be readily available at the library.

I. **Introduction to the course** (one week, two lectures)

During the first week, we will explore what the course is about and review the state versus market debate that will frame the empirical materials we will study during the course.

Note: No reading is required for the first week. If you wish to deepen your understanding of the state-market debate in scholarly and/or policy context, the following readings may be useful. Whether you chose to do this recommended reading or not, **do get started on the reading for the second week**; the reading load will increase sharply as the course goes on, **so get ahead and stay ahead**.

There will be **no precepts** during the **first week**.

Recommended reading (optional):

Stephan Dercon, *Gambling on Development: Why Some Countries Win and Others Lose*, 2022.

Stephan Haggard, *Developmental States*, 2018.

Dani Rodrik, “Rescuing Economics from Neoliberalism,” *Boston Review*, Nov. 6, 2017.

Human Development Report 2013, *The Rise of the South*, pp. 1-18

Joseph Stiglitz, “Is There a Post-Washington Consensus Consensus?” in Narcis Serra and Joseph Stiglitz, eds., *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered*, 2008, pp. 41-56.

World Bank, Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, 2008, 1-12 (Overview).

Francis Fukuyama, “The imperative of state-building,” *Journal of Democracy*, April 2004, 17-31.

Human Development Report, 1996, pp. 1-10 and p. 20.

World Bank, *Economic Growth in the 1990s*, 2005, foreword, xi-xiii and Ch. 1, 1-30.

Anne O. Krueger, “Government Failures in Development,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Summer 1990, pp. 9-23.

II. East Asia (South Korea and China): (three weeks, six lectures, three precepts)

Note: During these three weeks we will focus on the East Asian region in general and on South Korea and China in particular. The total required reading for the three weeks is around 450 pages. Read Studwell during the first week (at least the first 180 pages), then Johnson and Kohli in the second week (while also finishing Studwell), and then read Economy, Gilley, Zweig and the Cai Xia article in the third week.

Required Reading:

Joe Studwell, *How Asia Works*.

Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, chapters 2-3.

Chalmers Johnson, “Political Institutions and Economic Performance,” in Fredric Deyo, ed. *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism*, 1987, pp. 136-164.

Elizabeth Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, 2018, pp. 1-54.

Bruce Gilley, “Deng Xiaoping and his Successors,” in William Joseph, ed. *Politics in China* (third edition, 2019), 125-156.

David Zweig, “China’s Political Economy,” in William Joseph, ed. *Politics in China* (third edition, 2019), 274-314.

Cai Xia, “The Weakness of Xi Jin Ping,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2022, 85-107:
<file:///C:/Users/kohli/Desktop/The%20Weakness%20of%20Xi%20Jinping%20How%20Hubris%20and%20Paranoia%20Threaten%20China%E2%80%99s%20Future.html>

Recommended Reading (optional):

(On the region as a whole)

Kristen E. Looney, Mobilizing for Development: The Modernization of Rural East Asia, 2020.

Robert Wade, “The Developmental State: Dead or Alive?” *Development and Change*, 2018, 49 (2), 518-46.

Larry Diamond and Gi-Wook Shin, eds. *New Challenges for Maturing Democracies in Korea and Taiwan*, 2014.

Ha-Joon Chang, *The East Asian Development Experience: The Miracle, the Crisis and the Future*, 2006.

Joseph Wong, *Healthy Democracies*, 2004, 1-17, 154-73.

Meredith Woo-Cumings, ed., *The Developmental State*, 1999.

World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle*, 1993.

Bela Balassa, “Lessons of East Asian Development,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 1988, S273-290.

(On South Korea)

Stephan Haggard and Myung-Koo Kang, “The Politics of Growth in South Korea: Miracle, Crisis and the New Market Economy,” in Carol Lancaster and Nicholas van de Walle, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development*, 2018.

Elizabeth Thurbon, *Developmental Mindset: The Revival of Financial Activism in South Korea*, 2016.

Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra Vogel, eds. *The Park Chung Hee Era*, 2011.

Alice Amsden, *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization*, 1989.

Leroy Jones and Il Sakong, *Government Business, and Entrepreneurship in Economic Development: The Korean Case*, 1980.

(On China)

Susan Shirk, *Overreach: How China Derailed its Peaceful Rise*, 2022.

Minxin Pei, "China: Totalitarianism's Long Shadow," *Journal of Democracy*, April 2021, 5-21.

Lowell Dittmer, ed. *China's Political Economy in the Xi Jinping Era*, 2021.

Yuen Yuen Ang, *China's Gilded Age: The Paradox of Economic Boom and Vast Corruption*, 2020.

Nicolas Lardy, *The State Strikes Back*, 2019.

Arthur R. Kroeber, *China's Economy*, 2016.

Doug Guthrie, *China and Globalization: The Social, Economic and Political Transformation of Chinese Society*, 2012.

Marc Blecher, *China Against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform*, (3rd edition), 2010.

Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State*, 2008.

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy*, 2007.

First Take-Home Assignment (Feb. 24, 9:00 am to Feb. 26, 9:00 pm)

III. Latin America (Brazil) (three lectures, two precepts)

Required Reading:

Peter Kingstone, *The Political Economy of Latin America*.

Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, chapter 5.

Valerie Wirtschafter, “After a victory for democracy what is Brazil’s road ahead?” *Brookings*, Nov. 9, 2022: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/11/09/after-a-victory-for-democracy-what-is-brazils-road-ahead/>

Recommended Reading (optional):

Oliver Stuenkel, “Latin America’s Second Pink Tide Looks very Different from the First,” *America’s Quarterly*, July 18, 2022.
<https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/latin-americas-second-pink-tide-looks-very-different-from-the-first/>

The Economist, “Special Report on Latin America: Between Stagnation and Angry Streets,” June 18, 2022.

Thomas Carothers and Andreas Feldman, eds., Divisive Politics and Democratic Dangers in Latin America, Carnegie Endowment, 2021.

The Economist, “Special Report on Brazil: A Troubled Country,” June 5-11, 2021.

Barbara Stallings, *Dependency in the Twenty First Century? The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations*, 2020.

Deborah Yashar, *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*, 2018.

Hillel Soifer, *State Building in Latin America*, 2015.

Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Studies*, 2012.

Steven Levitsky and K.M. Roberts, *The Resurrection of the Latin American Left*, 2011.

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, eds. *Modern Latin America*, 2009.

IV. India (three lectures, one precept)

Required Reading:

Atul Kohli, *Poverty amid Plenty in the New India*, 2012. (Depending on your interest, you can skim or skip section 3, pp. 144-211, but do read the conclusion).

Maitreesh Ghatak and Udayan Mukherjee, “The Mirage of Modinomics,” *The India Forum*, (online publication), March 8, 2019, 1-18.

James Manor, “A New, Fundamentally Different Political Order: The

Emergence and Future Prospects of ‘Competitive Authoritarianism’ in India,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 56, Issue No. 10, 06 Mar, 2021.

Recommended Reading (optional):

The Economist, “Briefing: India’s Economy,” May 14, 2022.

Maitreesh Ghatak, “India’s Inequality Problem,” *The India Forum*, July 2, 2021, <https://www.theindiaforum.in/article/does-india-have-inequality-problem>

Christophe Jaffrelot, Modi’s India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy, 2021.

Milan Vaishnav, ed. *The BJP in Power: Indian Democracy and Religious Nationalism*, 2019.

Christophe Jaffrelot, Atul Kohli and Kanta Murali, eds. *Business and Politics in India*, 2019.

Perna Singh, *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Sub-nationalism and Social Development in India*, 2016.

Jean Dreze and A. K. Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*, 2013.

Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, *Why Growth Matters? How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty*, 2013.

Maya Tudor, *Promise of Power: Origins of Democracy in India and Autocracy in Pakistan*, 2013

V. Sub-Saharan Africa (Nigeria) (three lectures, two precepts)

Peter Lewis, “Africa’s Political Economy in the Contemporary Era,” in Carol Lancaster and Nicholas van de Walle, eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development*, 2018, (36 pages), (note: this volume is available on line via Princeton University library).

Nicholas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*, 2001, 1-19, 13-177, and 271-286.

Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, Ch. 9.

The Economist, Special Report on Nigeria, June 18, 2015.

Recommended Reading (optional):

UNCTAD, Economic Development in Africa, 2021, United Nations, 2021.

The Economist, “Special Report on Africa: The African Century,” March 26, 2020.

Rhys Jenkins, *How China is Reshaping the Global Economy: Development Impact on Africa and Latin America*, 2019.

Congressional Research Service, *Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy*, 2019.

John Campbell and Matthew T. Page, *Nigeria: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2018.

Akbar Norman et al eds. *Good Growth and Governance in Africa*, 2012

Dambiso Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*, 2009.

Benno Ndulu, et. al., *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa*, 2008.

Second Take-Home Assignment (March 31, 9:00 am to April 2, 9:00 pm)

VI. Democracy and Development (three lectures, one precept)

Required Reading:

Note: You may wish to read Sen first, then Teorell, and then Roberts and the V-Dem Report.

V-Dem Institute, Democracy Report 2022, *Autocratization Changing Nature?* 6-37.

Kenneth Roberts, “Populism and Political Representation,” in Carol Lancaster and Nicholas van de Walle, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development*, 2018.

Jan Teorell, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*, 2010, 1-15 and 141-54.

A.K. Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 1999, pp. 3-11, 146-59.

Recommended Reading (optional):

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Backsliding*, 2021

Patrick Heller, “The Age of Reaction: Retrenchment Populism in India and Brazil,” *International Sociology*, 2020.

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die*, 2019.

José Cheibub and James Vreeland, “Modernization Theory: Does Economic Development Cause Democratization?” in Carol Lancaster and Nicholas van de Walle, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development*, 2018.

Nancy Bermeo, “On Democratic Backsliding,” *Journal of Democracy*, January 2016.

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*, 2012.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*, 2010.

Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution*, 2003.

Marina Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*, 2003.

Adam Przeworski, et. al., *Democracy and Development*, 2000.

Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 1991

VII. Globalization (three lectures, one precept)

Required Reading:

Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox* (Introduction and pp. 3-206).

Recommended Reading (optional):

Atul Kohli, *Greed and Guns: Imperial Origins of the Developing World*, 2022.

Patrick Diamond, ed. *The Crisis of Globalization: Democracy, Capitalism and Inequality in the Twenty-First Century*, 2019.

Michael O’Sullivan, *The Levelling: What’s Next after Globalization*, 2019.

Branko Milanovic, *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*, 2016.

Joseph Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, 2007.

Jeffrey A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*, 2006.

Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization*, 2004.

Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*, 2002.

VIII. Conclusion (one lecture; an optional precept for review)

No assigned readings.

Final assignment: The final assignment will be a 5-day take-home exam from April 28, 9:00 am to May 2, 9:00 pm.